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The National Monthly

Oil Workers, Organize!

Who Should Pay for Workers Education?

Fund, Foundation or Workers Themselves ?

No Truce with Private Ownership

(In Giant Power)

The Next General Strike
A Golden Silver Jubilee

Those Labor-Capitalists
Forgery by Mellon's Gang

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The National Monthly

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CONTENTS:

	PAGE
WHO SHOULD PAY FOR WORKERS' EDUCATION? <i>Spencer Miller, Jr., Clinton Golden and E. J. Lever</i>	1
FORGERY BY MELLON'S GANG.....	6
THOSE LABORER-CAPITALISTS..... <i>Robert W. Dunn</i>	7
NO TRUCE WITH PRIVATE OWNERSHIP <i>M. H. Hedges</i>	9
OIL WORKERS, ORGANIZE! <i>Louis Frances Budenz</i>	12
A NEW PROGRAM FOR BRITISH LABOR <i>Ernest C. Hunter</i>	15
THEIR CONSTITUTION..... <i>Yaffle</i>	18
BROOKWOOD'S PAGES..... <i>Arthur W. Calhoun</i>	20
A GOLDEN SILVER JUBILEE.....	22
LONDON IN STRIKE TIME..... <i>Prynce Hopkins</i>	23
LABOR HISTORY IN THE MAKING <i>Louis Francis Budenz</i>	24

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Labor Age

The National Monthly

Who Should Pay for Workers Education?

FUND, FOUNDATION OR THE WORKERS THEMSELVES?

I. L. G. W. U.
CLASS
IN
PSYCHOLOGY



THIS UNION
PIONEERED
IN OUR
WORKERS'
EDUCATION
MOVEMENT

EXACTLY ten years ago the Philadelphia convention of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union inaugurated the first attempt at American Workers Education.

Much water has flowed over the dam since then. The Workers Education Bureau has been established. The A. F. of L. has directly endorsed and financed it, at least in part. A resident college, Brookwood, has come upon the scene. The movement, still in its infancy and therefore a bit uncertain of itself, has nevertheless evolved distinctly helpful efforts in such places as Philadelphia and out in District 2 of the Miners. State Federations, notably that of Pennsylvania, have become genuinely interested. The biggest work lies still ahead, to recreate

and stimulate the future leadership of the Movement in their battles for further workers control of industry.

The question now arises: How should these various efforts be financed? Should outside help be accepted? If so, should such outside help come from such organizations as the Carnegie Foundation, which have been looked upon in the past with some askance by the organized workers? Or should it come from the so-called Garland Fund, which has been supposed to have a radical tinge? Or should it, or can it, come from the workers themselves? This discussion, which is really the beginning of a discussion, will serve to give the answer. Those who participate are more than well qualified to discuss the problem—of interest to all who have at heart a militant and intelligent labor movement.

two conceivable attitudes or policies to follow with respect to contributions or donations; one is complete refusal to accept outside aid; the other is acceptance of such unconditional aid. It is a perfectly consistent position and, on the whole, highly commendable for any study class or any other workers' educational enterprise to refuse all contributions from either outside individuals or foundations. It is bound to develop resourcefulness and independence to look within rather than without for funds.

Outside Gifts Must Be Unconditional

If, on the other hand, one does accept outside funds, one principle which seems to be eminently sound is, that any gift for workers' education from either individuals or from foundations should be unconditional and without restrictions. The reasons are obvious. If gifts carry conditions they seriously impair real local autonomy and democratic management. The policy of one foundation to impose conditions on their gifts to workers' education seems to me to be unsound in principle and has caused some mistakes in practice. In the second place, large gifts which come so regularly as to become an actual basis of support are apt to become the substitute for funds from working people themselves. In the third place, gifts which come after a study group has developed a policy and made its demonstration are less liable to divert it from its path of experimentation than if the gift is made at the outset.

It is, of course, exceedingly easy to become dogmatic about the source and size of contributions; but it is

hardly in accordance with scientific objectivity. For some contributions may do harm and others actually do good, irrespective of either source or size. To refuse contributions from an educational foundation, and accept them from an individual whose money comes from a similar or identical source as the foundation itself is pure sophistry. It may even become a kind of intellectual dishonesty. The question, in the last analysis, turns on the use to which the money is put. It is idle to speculate upon the motives of either the giver or the receiver. Consistency in policy is certainly to be encouraged.

About State Aid

Finally, there is the matter of state aid. When a local city school system assigns a teacher to teach wage earners elementary English and pays that teacher it is state aid. When a state appropriates a fund for workers' education it is a clear case of state aid. In this case the character of results should determine the policy; in principle there can be no objection to unconstitutional state aid if outside funds are to be accepted.

In a word, then, the financing of workers' education is a problem which will be solved by experimentation by various groups in various ways. It is well that it should be: for this is the spirit of science. And if those who are active in workers' education in this country can approach all of their educational problems with an open mind and maintain the method of experimentation, American workers' education will become a more powerful and significant movement in both the field of education and of labor.

Let Us Avoid Doubtful Givers

By CLINTON S. GOLDEN

WHEN considering the question of financing workers education activities we must not lose sight of the fact that, with rare exceptions, all forms of educational activity require subsidies of some character. Which is to say that tuition and scholarship fees, seldom, if ever, are sufficient to meet all costs of instruction, erection and maintenance of buildings, and purchases and upkeep of necessary equipment.

State universities, colleges and public schools receive subsidies from state funds,—monies raised by public taxation. Other colleges and universities of the conventional type are supported by denominational or non-sectarian groups wholly or in part. Other such institutions are known to be "endowed institutions", which means by one method or another a huge fund has been organized and invested, the income of which is used to meet operating deficits.

The workers education movement of England is perhaps the oldest phase of the almost world-wide movement of adult workers to secure more knowledge—of one sort or another. The pages of its history are replete with

records of financial help extended by individuals who were not workers in the sense that they earned their own livelihood or income solely from their own physical or mental efforts.

The history of the movement in England dates from the period of the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, when economic and social forces gave birth to the modern working class movement. In 1789 in Birmingham an organization known as the "Society for Encouraging the Industrious Poor" was formed, with the object of conducting the education of Sunday School members. Within the next thirty years the London Mechanics Institute was formed, and by 1850 there were no less than six hundred Mechanics Institutes functioning in England and Wales. The literature used in these institutions was, for the most part, provided by the "Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge" formed by Lord Brougham, whom John Morley characterizes as the "man of encyclopedic ignorance".

In 1899 when Ruskin College (established at Oxford, England, through the assistance of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Vrooman, two American admirers of John Ruskin; and

LABOR AGE

with whom Dr. Charles A. Beard, a distinguished American educator, was associated in the experiment) we again find people outside the workers movement making possible distinct educational facilities for the workers' use. Again in 1920, when the present workers education movement in this country began to take form, well-to-do, liberal-minded sympathizers were active, helping to finance the movement.

Motive of Donors?

In order to arrive at some sort of conclusion as to the ethical and moral aspects of the matter involved in the acceptance of funds from outside the Labor Movement itself to support workers education activity, it would be well to consider motives and interests of prospective donors. It would seem that they might be divided into two groups, viz:

a) Those having the administration and distribution of the income from large corporations, trust funds and foundations such as the Carnegie Corporation and the Rockefeller Foundation (to take two conspicuous examples) and

b) Those wealthy individuals and the American Fund for Public Service (Garland Fund), who consistently maintain a sympathetic interest in the efforts of the workers to raise their own standards of intelligence and understanding and to constantly improve their working and living condition through independent voluntary, collective action in some form.

The present-day workers' education movement is for the most part controlled by Organized Labor. Its most enthusiastic and untiring advocates are officers and members of various unions. A considerable amount of money is expended each year from the treasuries of International Unions, State Federations, Central Labor Unions, etc., in behalf of the educational movement. There is plenty of evidence of a rapidly increasing realization on the part of members of Organized Labor that education under their own control and functioning in their own group interest is a tool or a process which may be used most effectively by them, not only in their day-to-day struggles for collective recognition but to aid them to express intelligently and efficiently the ideals and aspirations of the workers and to fit them for the assumption of a greater degree of responsibility in our modern industrial and social system.

Mention the name of Rockefeller to the average present-day trade union member and his mind immediately associates it with the struggles of the coal miners and steel workers of Colorado of a decade ago and the resulting Ludlow massacre; or in the company union promotion schemes or other paternalistic activities of the Standard Oil Co. Or mention the name of Carnegie and it is considered to be synonymous with the struggle in Steel—Homestead, if it be a middle aged worker; or the great steel strike of 1919, if it be a younger worker.

"Tainted" Money?

The organized worker feels, either keenly or somewhat vaguely, that the acceptance of funds by his Union or by the Labor Movement in any of its various interests,

from such sources is immoral—that these funds are in some way "tainted" and exercise a perverting and demoralizing influence and are to be shunned.

On the other hand, he knows that there are wealthy people—exceptions in his mind to the general rule—who are sincerely interested and wholeheartedly sympathetic with the workers in their struggles; people who have given liberally of their wealth and income for strike relief, for bail to secure the release of fellow workers arrested and jailed during industrial battles, who have contributed to the political campaigns of candidates for public office, who have been consistent champions of the Labor Movement and have assisted that movement in times of financial distress.

It is but natural, then, that the workers should differentiate between different owners of wealth and should judge wealth by its owners, their interests and deeds?

The name of Garland, who amassed a fortune as a manufacturer of stoves and ranges, has never been associated in the worker's mind with strikes, lockouts, injunctions, State police, destruction of Unions, corruption of government officials, violation of laws or other forms of oppression. Can as much be said of the Carnegies, Rockefellers and other creators of great corporations, trusts and trust funds?

Few workers are familiar with the fact that a part of the great fortune of the elder Garland was inherited by a young, idealistic son, who felt he had no legitimate right to accept the inheritance because he had contributed nothing to its creation and who would not exercise the power which control of it would give him because he felt it was anti-social. Or, that he turned over the complete control of this large fund to a board of trustees with instructions to distribute not only the income, but the principal as well, to aid in the various constructive movements of the workers and producers of the nation; urging its distribution as rapidly as possible because he felt that even the control of so large a sum of money would give the trustees a sense of potential power that was at once unhealthy and anti-social.

To those who are made acquainted for the first time with the idealism of the younger Garland and the purposes for which his inheritance should be used, the reaction is most interesting. Usually it takes the form of an expression, first of amazement that in this day and age there actually exist wealthy people with such ideals, and then secondly, an expression of gratification and encouragement at the thought of such sources of potential assistance for the workers' movements.

The Carnegie Corporation

Recently, the Carnegie Corporation has taken the initiative in forming an organization known as the Adult Education Association of America which has for its purpose the co-ordinating of the manifold activities in the very general field of adult education. It is doubtful whether the Carnegie Corporation directors have any premeditated desire or purpose to influence or corrupt the workers' education movement. Those interested in seeing the workers develop a consciousness of their place in the present social structure and a capacity for doing things for themselves and in their own interest as a

numerically predominant class in society, fear that the workers' education movement will lose its appeal to the active, militant, aggressive workers once it accepts funds from sources, judged in the light of past records of interests and activities, as being hostile to the organized labor movement.

In other words they fear the effect of "tainted money" on the morale of the labor movement.

On the other hand, acceptance of funds from individuals and foundations, who, by their own acts and deeds have demonstrated their faith in the workers movement and in their collective capacity to bring about a more just and equitable social order, has the effect of stimulating and encouraging the workers to greater activity.

As a worker, the greater part of whose life has been spent in the Labor Movement and as one of the pioneers

in the present day workers education movement, it is my opinion that funds for the promotion and development of workers' education should be accepted only from sources known to be wholly in sympathy with the labor movement, from donors who have sufficient faith in the workers' movement to enable them to make their gifts conditional only, that they be used *by* the workers and in their interests as workers.

If care, intelligence and discretion are used in the early stages of the development of education activities and institutions of, for and by the workers, there will come a time when the Labor Movement itself will undertake full responsibility for the maintenance of its own educational activities and institutions. Until that time comes, too close a scrutiny of proffered financial help and too careful an estimate of probable effects of such help, cannot be made.

The Workers Must Do It

By E. J. LEVER

WORKERS' EDUCATION is self-education by Organized Labor. As such, it is just one more activity Labor found necessary to enter in the past few years. And as it finances all its other activities, so will it have to finance workers' education.

Slowly but surely the unions are learning the value and necessity for education. To the extent to which they realize it do they finance it. The assumption of its pro-rata share of costs by a local union or district council is sufficient proof that workers' education has been accepted by it as a necessary union activity. This is a slow process, but it is being achieved. How long it will take to convince the movement depends of course on several factors. The economic and social conditions of this trying period no doubt have a direct effect on the thinking of officers and rank and file alike. The union's capacity to win or lose strikes and to make gains for its members, and the causes therefor have a direct effect on the growth of workers' education.

On the Workers' Mind

What, therefore, can workers' education contribute to the welfare of the workers? In that question lies the real problem of growth for workers' education in the unions. At this stage the growth of trade unionism is arrested. "The worker could get things before, why not now? Is the union no good? Shall I give up my activity, because nothing further can be accomplished? Has the tool worked out? What are we going to do now?" That's what's on the workers' mind. In order that he may see the light and continue his activities, will we find him able and willing to finance education?

The question therefore is: Is workers' education meant to deliver the goods? That's what we must start with. What comes after will come of itself. A taste for knowledge is bound to develop through actual demonstration that applied intelligence is more effective than the rule

of thumb. By teaching the officers and members alike the workers' true position in industry and society, by teaching him how to make a more effective weapon out of his union, by showing him that the limits of his union's capacity for achievement has not been reached, will you make him realize that workers' education is necessarily part and parcel of his union activities, and as such must be financed by the union's membership? Who else should pay for it, the boss? Why not ask the boss to pay your union dues?

Educating the workers to finance workers' education is educating the workers to *undertake* workers' education in their own behalf. The two cannot be separated. They go together. That has been our experience. We started with one class six years ago. We now have sixteen. The first class was financed by dues from the students, the hall was supplied by the union. Now we have seven classes in Workshop Economics alone, in that many unions, financed entirely by these unions themselves. This means paying for the teacher from \$5 to \$7.50 per night, guaranteed by the union, supplying hall or office as a classroom, and paying one cent per member per month to the College as the affiliation fee by unions representing 7,000 textile workers in Philadelphia.

Quaker City Unions Pay

One year ago this could not be done. Four of these same textile unions had classes, but only one paid for the teacher out of union treasury at \$5 per night. The reason for the change is that we have learned more about the job of workers' education ourselves. We have learned how to teach the workers more effectively, and to give them greater service. We have learned how to tie up workers' education with the immediate and future problems of the unions in question. We are jointly planning ahead. We are one and inseparable in sympathy, in

Forgery --- By Mellon's Gang

Tactics of Alexander Hamilton II in the Pennsylvania Fight

THIS CRUDE
FORGERY
OF
PRES. GREEN'S
NAME
DISCLOSES
TACTICS OF
GANG CLAIMING
MELLON
AS THEIR
LEADER

MR. FISHER
WAS THE
MELLON
CANDIDATE
HE WAS
OPPOSED
BY
ORGANIZED
LABOR

What Organized Labor Thinks of JOHN S. FISHER

No one who has known John S. Fisher, Candidate for Governor at the Primary next Tuesday, has ever had any doubt that he has been a consistent friend of organized labor. The following letter from the president of the greatest organization of its kind in the world merely emphasizes the regard in which Senator Fisher has been and is held by the men and women who toil:

To Col. Eric Fisher Wood,
Chairman Western Pennsylvania
Pepper-Fisher Campaign Committee

My Dear Sir:—I have received your letter in reference to the Hon. John S. Fisher, of Indiana, Pa., nominee for Governor.
All of his lifetime Mr. Fisher favored the old K. of L., the Knights of Labor.

The U. M. W. of America, ever since its inception, also the Pennsylvania State Federation of Labor and in particular the American Federation of Labor, the National Union of the United States of America, and the Labor Publicity work always received his kindly aid and sure protection.

Regarding his attitude on organized labor in Pennsylvania I challenge to those who dare to open their mouths against John S. Fisher as to his labor record. John S. Fisher has always been a white man with all classes of labor. He favors the United Mine Workers today and this I can prove beyond doubt. I remember when the hours of labor were shortened by the day and week for women and children in the factories, shops, restaurants and hotels. Our John S. Fisher favored all such legislation because they were humane measures.

Let labor take a tumble to itself and wake up.

It will be found that the laboring people of Pennsylvania will never have a better governor and capital will find a man of sterling quality for progressiveness of every kind.

WILLIAM GREEN,
President American Federation of Labor.

**Vote for John S. Fisher for Governor
Next Tuesday**

624 E. PEAK

aims, in failures and achievements. Therefore there is little question as to who is going to pay the bill. The answer is obvious.

The rest of the 45 unions composing the Labor College still pay their yearly membership dues of \$10. The other classes are still financed on the basis of class dues, because they are mixed classes, composed of students from various organizations. The College assumes the responsibility of financing them directly. Where a union has established scholarships it pays for its members. But these classes always result in a deficit, because there is a lot of difference between an inter-union and intra-union class. The losses are greater on the last, and the amount accomplished is less.

Concerning Subsidies

As to overhead, we still have the choice of keeping it down to small proportions by volunteer service on someone's part, who is willing to devote *all* his or her spare time. Or we may become impatient with the slow pro-

gress of humanity and depend on subsidy by outside agencies. In our case we have decided on the last for the time being, and only upon the American Fund for Public Service, for we find it the only group willing to help financially without strings or red tape, without dictation and which accepts the principle that this school is a part of the trade union movement, making its own decisions based on the needs of the movement and no other.

Every member of the College Council, however, looks upon this form of financing as a temporary measure, the real aim being to have the unions finance the work entirely. How long this will take depends on some circumstances beyond our control and on others which we feel we can control very definitely, through efforts on our part to serve the needs of the movement as the movement understands the need to exist, combined with the contribution that workers' education can make to the problems of organized labor.

Those Labor-Capitalists

Something More on Stock-Selling

By ROBERT W. DUNN

"People talk about conflicts between capital and labor. There is no conflict. Laborers are becoming capitalists."

* * *

"Society was formerly divided into two classes: Men of Millions—the Capitalists; and Millions of Men—the Public. But the Millions of Men are rapidly being graduated into the ranks of the Men of Millions. Examine the list of stock holders of big corporations. Millions of Men now own Big Business."

* * *

THE first chant is by Mr. Chas. Cason, Vice-President of the Chemical National Bank of New York. The second is a quotation from "a recent editorial in Collier's Weekly" quoted in an advertisement of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana appearing on page 287 of the May issue of the AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST.

Both embody the pith of the latest industrial illusion, the outlines of which run something as follows: There are more stockholders in large corporations than there used to be. Many of these are small stockholders. Workers are purchasing shares. Therefore, labor is gradually becoming capitalist, and—some of the more lyrical prophets declare—*vice versa!*

* * *

Last month we quoted some of the so-called far-visioned spokesmen of capitalism predicting that this apparent increase in worker shareholders would very shortly lead to a millenium in which the very terms radicalism and bolshevism, if indeed not trade unionism, would be forgotten. Labor would simply buy out the employers through individual purchases of shares, and sooner or later the class conflict would go up in smoke—no strikes, lock-outs, picketing, agitators, socialists, communists, labor parties, et cetera for ever after.

We also pointed out in the May LABOR ACE that the corporations that have gone in for share sales to employees are, by and large, companies with a distinctly anti-labor union record,—such as the Western Union Telegraph Co. and the Pennsylvania Railroad and the Standard Oil, to mention but three of the several hundred concerns now using the share-selling device. We showed that the motive animating the companies in urging their workers to purchase their stock was primarily to disarm them, to immunize them against trade union agitation and generally to tie them to the company's apron strings. Let us consider a few more opinions of those who have been close to the employers and who can explain "why they do it".

A. W. Burritt in his book on Profit-Sharing says:

"There can be no doubt that stock plans are frequently introduced because of the desire to prevent or weaken the organization of labor, and the hope that expensive strikes and industrial disputes will be done away with.... Such

plans rest largely upon the assumption that an employee who is a stock-holder in the concern, will be less easily influenced by 'agitators', and will be more likely to take the viewpoint of the owners and managers."

The purpose of employee stock-ownership campaigns is also implicit in an editorial in the PENNSYLVANIA MANUFACTURERS JOURNAL on "The Drive for Membership in Labor Organizations". It goes without saying that this journal is opposed to all labor unions and certainly to any "drive for membership". Remarking on what it terms "the changed attitude of workers toward employers", it says:

"Probably no one thing has affected so great a change in the attitude of workmen to big business enterprises as the fact that an annually increasing number of workmen are becoming substantial stock-holders in the concern in which they are employed."

COMMERCE AND FINANCE goes further in commenting upon this development and points out the future of an America where every worker will be a gilded coupon-clipper:

"A nation of investors is necessarily a nation of political conservatives.... Everyone will have money in the bank, every one will necessarily be an investor with a healthy income. We shall be established once for all as a nation of conservative Bourbons."

This is all very frank and explicit. The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey is equally so in painting rosy its own immediate future. Its official employee magazine—THE LAMP—says that "the intent of the men now extends beyond the regular receipt of a pay envelope. They have a stake of their own in the business". It also describes how a tank driver, employed by the company interrupted a trade union organizer "who was attacking the evils of big business" by shouting, "The Standard Oil? You don't know what you are talking about. I am the Standard Oil".

Such illusions, if properly press agented, certainly far surpass the ancient "widow and orphans" whine with which the corporations used to rally the support of the "middle classes" in the palmy days of Roosevelt trust-busting.

Finally we have AMERICAN INDUSTRIES, militant organ of the National Manufacturers Association, contending that "the readiness of employees to take stock in industrial corporations has been surprising. It is one of the most heartening developments of our time."

So much for the motive and objectives and hopes and aspirations of the employers with respect to stock-ownership. It may be well at this point to inquire just what foundation in fact there may be for these various beliefs and opinions and prophesies. Does the wider distribution of property through these stock sales really

LABOR AGE

touch the mass of the wage workers and render them any less exploited or put them in control of a larger proportion of this world's goods? Fortunately a timely and careful analysis of the "increase" of worker-ownership has been furnished by Mr. Lewis Corey writing in *THE NEW REPUBLIC* (May 5, 1926).

Sheer Nonsense

Mr. Corey proceeds to demolish the myth about the "economic revolution" under way through the alleged increase in small stock holders. He analyzes the income tax figures for the last few years and shows that the concentration of industry in the hands of the middle and big business class is in fact increasing and that the yarns about worker control and ownership through stock buying are sheer nonsense.

The Thomas Nixon Carvers and other professorial apologists for capitalism have been making much of the increasing ownership rights residing in the income groups running below \$5,000 per annum, a few of these being, presumably, wage earners. Corey shows just what this means in actual percentages of stock held:

APPROXIMATE DISTRIBUTION OF STOCKHOLDINGS

Income Groups	Number in Group	Percent of Total
\$5,000 and up.....	600,000	75.0%
\$3,000 to \$5,000.....	1,400,000	12.9
Below \$3,000.....	5,000,000	8.1
Not reporting.....	8,000,000	4.0

In other words, 4 per cent of the stockholders of this country own 75 per cent of the industrial holdings of stock while 53 per cent of the stockholders own 4 per cent of it.

The study also shows very clearly how the capitalist statisticians, in their eagerness to show the sweep of the small stockholder development, have been basing their figures on the income reports for 1921, when the share of national income going to those with incomes under \$5,000 was at its peak. Since then the trend has been in the opposite direction the large income group having during the years 1922-24 recovered nearly two-thirds of the proportion of dividends lost in the years just preceding 1921. Indeed the ownership of stock as of 1924 yields the following interesting figures:

CLASS DISTRIBUTION OF STOCK OWNERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES—1924

Class	Stock Owned	Percent
Farmers	\$1,520,000,000	2.3%
Wage-earners	1,650,000	2.5
Non-wage-earners		
Below \$5,000.....	12,080,000,000	18.3
\$5,000 to \$20,000.....	14,780,000,000	22.4
Above \$20,000	35,970,000,000	54.5

From these figures he concludes very rightly as follows:

"1. Stockholders are multiplying, but corporate ownership is not being democratized. In 1924, 4.6 per

cent of stockholders owned 76.9 per cent stock, a net gain of 1.4 points over 1923.

"2. Of the decline in stockholdings of the large investors (incomes of \$20,000 up) almost two-thirds was recovered by 1924, and the tendency is again for their share in corporate ownership to increase.

"3. The workingclass has slightly increased its stockholdings, but this gain is absolute and not relative. The real gains have been scored by the middle class.

"4. The class concentration of corporate ownership is not being broken, nor are there any indication of its being broken.

"5. Under prevailing conditions we are not approaching, either immediately or potentially, working class ownership and management of corporate industry."

Which means, in short, that the whole argument of the capitalist mythologist-economists resolves itself into so much bunk.

But in spite of this the corporations can keep on fooling the worker who owns a couple shares, by playing on the expansive feeling of ownership. No matter what the facts may be they can continue to drug him with the psychology of proprietorship. To meet this never ceasing barrage—carried on by employee magazines, pay envelope slips and other boss-devised methods of propaganda—labor must be extremely vigilant to point out the true facts concerning the concentration of capital. Coincident with this it must launch drives on the unorganized territory where the employers, with their stock purchase and other welfare schemes, now run a complete dictatorship.

A. F. of L. Research Bureau

One of the indispensable elements in such a drive must be a program of amalgamation of the various craft and sectional unions into real industrial unions. Only such unions, suited to modern industrial development, can conceivably carry on an effective counter offensive against the employers. Such unions by united drives into unorganized territory (the great Passaic textile strike indicates the present possibilities) could reach the worker heretofore untouched by the trade union gospel. With *union loyalty* as a definite substitute for *company loyalty* this type of worker could be steered away from the share in ownership baits.

The unions must face the growth of these company devices. They must have their own programs to win workers support and devotion. Only such militant industrial bodies can expose the sham of the stock ownership schemes and their real purpose—to break the spinal column of the American labor movement and leave the share-holding slaves at the complete mercy of individual bargaining with great paternalistic corporations.

The official organs of the unions have done something to show up the employers' devices. But there should be more than sporadic articles and assaults. A permanent research department of the A. F. of L. should be continually at work collecting material with which to smash the employers' welfare offensive on every front.

Mr. Dunn has not only made a Scientific study of the employers' schemes. He has also been fighting them at Passaic from the Civil Liberty viewpoint. He advises that all wishing to contribute to the Passaic fight may send funds to Strikers' Relief Committee, 743 Main Avenue, Passaic, N. J.

Answering Giant Power's Challenge

II. No Truce With Private Ownership

By M. H. HEDGES

A GREAT new force is being born throughout the world. It is a veritable Giant. By use of our water power, and of our coal at the mine mouth, Super-Power will walk all through America and the world at large.

Who will control it? That is the vital question of the present moment. In the answer to that, lie possibilities as great as those which played around the Industrial Revolution, that great series of inventions which brought in the Machine.

I. THE COST

TWO thousand dollars a minute for 24 hours is lots of money. But \$2000 a minute for 10 years is a staggering sum quite inconceivable. It is as much as the entire railroad system cost, though the present valuation of the railroads is placed at 19 billions of dollars. It is as much as one-sixth of the annual income of the whole United States—120 millions of people—40 million of them gainfully employed. It is more than seven times as much as the United States spends every year for public school education.

It is this sum of 10 billion dollars that the power trust expects to secure from the American people in the next ten years for development of the industry. So F. T. Griffith, president, told the National Electric Light Association at its 1925 meeting. "The light and power industry of the United States," Griffith estimates, "will need to raise money at the rate of \$2000 every minute for the next ten years. It will require \$10,000,000,000 to meet the financial demands of the industry during the coming decade, and this stupendous task presents one of the outstanding problems of the industry."

Many Americans, childishly conclude that because the National Electric Light Association glibly talks of billions, he, Mr. Average Man, with his 30 dollar a week wage, has nothing to do with it. But he has very much to do with it. He will contribute heavily to the 10 billions of new capital sought by the Power Trust.

The sum of 10 billions sought will come from these sources:

1. Earnings.
2. Sale of Stock.
3. Sale of Bonds.

No doubt the sum sought will come from all three sources. What comes from earnings will accrue from direct tax upon the consumer of electricity in the way of rates—from three to five times as much as the cost to the consumer under public ownership. What comes from sale of stock will accrue—from direct purchase of stock; and, under the system of customer ownership, so charitably devised by the Power Trust, the consumer will

The Power Trust knows well the huge club that this Giant will give it, over the lives of the workers. It is reaching out for control of this weapon. Because of the urgency of the issue, we present herewith the LABOR AGE idea—which is that of the American Federation of Labor and the International Brotherhood of Electric Workers: NO TRUCE WITH THE GENERAL ELECTRIC CO., the Electric Trust! Public Ownership is the only hope of the workers.

supply a large block of this capital. What comes from bond sales will accrue from the sale of bonds to banks, but both the bond sales and the stock sales will represent a lot of fictitious value, or water, upon which electric rates will then be based, and therefore, the consumer will again be paying a big part of the cost of securing new capital for the Power Trust.

Oh, yes, there is water in the holdings of the Power Trust. How much, no one knows. Mr. Jett Lauck discovered several years ago that the street railways of the nation (an industry which might be described as blood cousin to the electric industry) were overcapitalized 45 per cent—about one half water—or \$2,119,000,000 in the country at large. So prevalent is watering in the hydro-electric field that the JOURNAL OF COMMERCE, a Wall Street organ, arraigns the practice. In the issue of October 13, 1925, this monitor of big business declares:

Both inflation and overcapitalization are alike affecting the public utility business adversely at the present time, according to a growing opinion that is entertained by investment authorities in that field of business.

Inquiries made by the Journal of Commerce from specialists in the business show that an increasing apprehension concerning the situation is felt there. Among other factors which are unfavorably regarded is the working of the new fashion of issuing "no par stock". One effect of this plan is to prevent any definite indication from being afforded concerning the amount of investment that has been made and to throw the investigator back upon the actual analysis of statements.

General opinion is to the effect that funded debt in such concerns should not run more than about \$2.50 to \$5 per \$1 of gross earnings while capital should run from \$5 to \$10 or perhaps \$12 at times, per \$1 of gross earnings.

In this range of quotations the lower figures represent coal burning companies and the higher hydro-electric companies which have had heavy construction costs of late. Ordinarily the price of the stock of a holding company is around fifteen or twenty times the earnings per share while the price of the stock of the operating company is running about ten to twelve times its earnings per share among those that are a more conservative basis.

LABOR AGE

The inflation character of the situation can be realized from the following survey of the situation in some of the principal utilities from which it appears that the ratio of selling prices of stocks to actual earnings per share is by no means infrequently anywhere from 12 to 15 up to 35 to 40 times the actual earnings per share. The figures have been compiled by specialists in holding companies stocks, who are far from being prejudiced by existing conditions and as to whose conclusions there is no ground for doubts.

What promises to happen in the hydro-electric field—a field involving 72,000,000 potential horse power, the natural possession of the people—is that the 10 billion dollars will be capitalized at 15 billion dollars, and the rates to the consumer fixed on this fictitious value.

Already we can discern the outlines of this gargantuan trust. The years 1924 and 1925 were years of feverish scurrying hither and thither tying in system to system. Insull in New England. Byllesby in the Northwest. William Z. Mitchel in the South. And these great regional systems were acknowledging fealty to the Electric Bond and Share Company, 71 Broadway, super-holding company. The January, 1926, issue of the *ELECTRICAL WORLD* reported no less than 151 mergers, involving 558 separate corporations in the electrical field in 1925.

There is something ruthless in the steady grind of financial determinism in the power field. We have seen it make legislatures look like a disorderly group of spanked children. But who would think that it could make the Congress of the United States, august body of the greatest country in the world, look like a lot of guilty street urchins getting away with their first loot?

II. THE RESULT

Do not make any mistake. The surrender of the electrical power resources and facilities to private interests in an age when everything is destined to be electrified is a pitiable blunder. It will make power cost from three to five times as much to the consumer. But it will do more. It will put stupefying and debauching influences into the hands of a few men.

One morning last winter the President of the United States invited members of the Agricultural Committee of the United States Senate, then considering the question of the lease of Muscle Shoals, to the White House for breakfast. Before going an informal poll of the committee indicated that a safe majority favored the retention of Muscle Shoals by the government. On returning the committee voted 10 to 5 to give Muscle Shoals away. The White House spokesman did not, and will not tell us what happened at that breakfast of liver and bacon, to work this remarkable reversal of sentiment. One labor senator denounced the whole proceeding as an act of a Mussolini. The placid Coolidge retains his placidity. Yet everyone in Washington knows that one of Mr. Coolidge's intimates is Dwight L. Morrow. Dwight L. Morrow is a member of the firm of Morgan and Company, New York. It is Morgan's branch house at Philadelphia, Drexel & Company, that gobbled up the rich

power resources at Conowingo, Md., a site capable of developing as much power as Niagara Falls.

For forty years now in these United States the forces of government have been grappling with financial monopoly. How successful the policy of public regulation has been can be deduced by a study of railroad and



Pittsburgh Press

WE SAY "GO"

street car rates, gas and electric rates, telephone rates and the ease with which water power sites are taken over by private corporations in competition with city and state governments. Viewed by results, public regulation is a failure, an abject failure. It is only the threat of public ownership that has kept the public utility rates as low as they are.

The cost, then, of private ownership is a country divided against itself. Private ownership of public utilities rests on a system of dualism. Under private ownership a public utility is torn between service to the public and allegiance to profits. Profits—Mammon—invariably win. Public ownership removes this quality. In removing it, it dries up a great source of money influence corruptly brought to bear upon city councils, state legislatures and national governments.

III. FORCES OF OPPOSITION

During these hustling years of consolidation, the Power Trust has not been without opposition. There has been that small, gallant, and able group of senators, led by Norris, battling against overwhelming odds in Congress. There has been the commendable work of the Public Ownership League. And finally there has been the vigorous opposition of labor, headed by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Labor saw very early the drift toward trustification in the electrical field. Why shouldn't it? It felt first the heavy hand of the monopolists turned against it. In 1923, the delegates from the International Brotherhood of Elec-



WHERE BOULDER DAM SHOULD BE
But Electric Trust killed it again in Congress

trical Workers brought in a resolution to the A. F. of L. convention at Portland strongly advocating public ownership as a solution of the power problem. Since that time both the electrical workers union and the A. F. of L. have fought alongside of every friend and against every foe of public ownership.

Public ownership as a public policy has grown up alongside the acceptance of trade unionism as an industrial policy. Both advocates of public ownership and advocates of trade unionism know what it is to oppose a highly organized, relentless system of private ownership ensconced in the national, municipal and state governments and in the great industrial enterprises. To carry the analysis further, advocates of public ownership as a public policy and advocates of trade unionism as an industrial policy have the same ends in mind. Trade unionists found industry more or less of a mess. There was no order in it. The philosophy of dog-eat-dog prevailed, and those men, who by occupying advantageous positions in industry and by power of great wealth, preyed upon the weaker members of society. The only effective challenge to this order and to this philosophy has been trade unionism with its idea of mutual help. The only effective challenge to this order in the public field has been public ownership, with its idea of social cooperation.

IV. THE PUBLIC STAKE IN LABOR

We have heard a good deal about labor's stake in the public, its responsibility to the public, its obligation to serve the public. We have heard very little about the public's stake in labor, its responsibility to labor, its obligation to serve labor. We have heard nothing at all about the public's responsibility to itself.

If we could only get this heterogeneous, scattered, many-headed being, called the public, to arouse its heavy imagination and to vision the electrical era as it promises to be, and as it may be! Then it is apparent that it would come to see that the interests of labor—in its struggle to oppose the Power Trust—is the interest of the public. When labor opposes the company union policy of the General Electric, and the low wages of the Alabama Power Company (65 cents an hour), it is fighting the same policy that permits the Alabama Power Company to buy power at Muscle Shoals from the government at 1/5 of a cent per kilowatt and resell it for 10 cents—a gross profit of 5000 per cent.

The public may wish to let public ownership alone. But public ownership will not let the public alone. The iniquities of private ownership beget a counter system. As long as there is a Power Trust, there will be a public ownership "meanace". That is why there can be no truce with private ownership!

Oil Workers, Organize!

An Open Letter to the Men of Constable Hook

THAT \$111,000,000 PROFIT

LAST year—1925—was one of the big years in Standard Oil history. It was the biggest year since 1920, when a record net profit of \$164,461,409 was made for the Standard of New Jersey.

In 1925 the net profit for this concern was \$111,231,355—after all charges and deductions for depreciation and depletion had been taken out.

This company is the largest petroleum organization in the world. It is the second largest industrial corporation in this country, United States Steel being in the lead.

Thus have the cunning and cruelty of John D. Rockefeller, the hymn singer and dime-giver, received rewards from Mammon. It is a long time since 1872, when the Standard Oil gang first entered into their conspiracy through the South Improvement Co., by which they got special rates from the big railroads and drove all competitors from the field. It is a long time since 1878, when independent refineries were given the option of selling out or being destroyed. "Into the maw or the morgue", they had to go. It is getting to be a long time since the massacre of Ludlow, when the workers felt the bullet and machine gun of the Rockefeller thugdom. Time is also passing by since the bloody strike of Bayonne.

But the Rockefeller leopard changes not his spots. Out on Constable Hook, he intends still to keep his workers in slavery. Not only is a wage increase denied. The men are forbidden to meet with other oil workers. A fine freedom for American citizens! The "democracy"

Fellow-Workers of the Standard, Tidewater and Vacuum Oil Companies:

NOTHING is settled until it is settled right. That is an old saying. Nothing will be settled right for the workers on Constable Hook until they have secured a real union, with real power to win demands.

What have these so-called "Republics of Labor" obtained in the way of wage increases for the men on the Hook? Nothing. They have been formed by the companies in order that they will get you nothing. They are the best buck-passing machinery yet devised, to stop workers from getting what they want.

For a long time you have requested a 10 per cent wage increase. What has become of it? In the Standard, General Manager Coler passed the buck to President Teagle and he passed it on to the junior Rockefeller. Every one waited for Rockefeller's verdict. He was to come to Newark and talk to your "representatives" at the usual banquet there. At the last minute he got a stomach-ache and could not come. Is he always to remain "ill" so far as Bayonne is concerned? Is the wage

about which John the Baptist prates so much, when the limelight is convenient!

What share of this \$111,000,000 profit are the workers getting? A two weeks' vacation, after five years of service! That is the sop handed them. Even this was not granted until "outside agitation" had appeared, through LABOR AGE. Everybody knows that the Standard, as well as the Vacuum, were very reluctant to grant even this cheap "charity" to the workers.

The American Institute of Economics, in reporting on the British Miners' situation, indicated that the mine owners in Britain had offered the two weeks' vacation bunk to the miners. But the latter had refused it, as it is decent wages that they want. It was clear that the employers and workers regarded this offer as an attempted substitute for wages.

We believe that the men on Constable Hook understand the American principles of democracy. We know of their discontent with the autocratic flub-dubbery which has been imposed on them from on top. No group of men, who are denied the right to meet as they see fit, are free-men! No group of men who have to depend on Mr. Rockefeller's digestion for their welfare can be secure. At the present moment, it would be much better to take up a collection to buy John D. Jr. a physic and get him in "good health", than to go through the hocus-pocus of a "Labor Republic" election.

Knowing these facts, we are addressing the following letter to the Men of Constable Hook. The question is: Do the workers there want to be doled out free ice cream cones, like beggars, or do they want to be treated as men?

increase to be put off until Mr. Rockefeller is forced to give it to you?

A 20 Per Cent Increase Needed

In a real union Mr. Rockefeller's illness would not be an excuse. You would make your demands and get them. The oil companies, and particularly the Standard, know that you are entitled, not to a 10 per cent increase but to a 20 per cent rise. That is why the Standard forbids its workers to meet with the workers of the other companies. It understands full well that if the oil workers of Bayonne met together in one union group, looked their conditions and wages in the face, and saw their own power, they would immediately see to it that the oil companies paid them what was due them.

Is it not strange that the companies try by every hook and crook to stave off a wage rise? Certainly, they cannot plead poverty. The oil business is in a flourishing condition, according to the statements made to your own "representatives" at the recent bunk-throwing banquet. Were the companies as anxious to get a wage rise for you as they are to get money out of your pockets for hospitals and athletic associations, they could give this increase tomorrow.

**A FURTHER LETTER TO GENERAL MANAGER COLER
OF THE STANDARD OIL WORKS**

May 6, 1926.

Mr. William C. Coler, General Manager,
Constable Hook Works,
Standard Oil Company,
Bayonne, New Jersey.

Dear Sir:

We are pleased to note that you have backed down from your Czaristic attitude in regard to the distribution of our organization message to the men in your works.

We hope that this is the preface to a change of heart, which will allow your men to meet with the workers of the other oil companies, openly and above-board, to present their demands for a wage increase to all the oil companies in Bayonne.

The Standard Oil Company is not a poverty-stricken institution. Why, then, in the name of American decency, has the 10 per cent wage demand been ducked by the companies so long? You are well aware of the fact that the men are entitled to a 20 per cent increase. Instead of heeding the demand for something much less, your company has been very busy making the workers contribute two days' pay to the Bayonne Hospital. At the same time, Mr. Rockefeller, with his usual hypocrisy, contributes \$100,000, which should go to the workers, to the Elizabeth, New Jersey, Y. M. C. A.

We are pleased to inform you that Chief of Police O'Neill will not make any autocratic arrests, at the request of the company. He will not allow strike-breakers to come into Bayonne.

Therefore, we look forward to an immediate announcement that your men are allowed to meet as they see fit, and that a 20 per cent wage rise has been allowed.

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

anything permanent for yourselves is by kicking over your bunk "Republics" and getting a real union.

Test this statement out. Make a demand through your "representatives", under the fake "Republic" plan, for a 20 per cent increase in wages, effective in 30 days. Will they give it to you? You will get "hot air" instead.

The American Federation of Labor will get it for you, however. The American Federation of Labor can get it for you. The oil companies fear the American Federation of Labor. Why? Because through a real union you would get real results—not empty promises.

This is the time to make your demands. Economic conditions favor you. The oil companies cannot do without you. The Chief of Police has stated that he will not let strikebreakers come into Bayonne. He would not arrest me, at the request of Mr. Coler. The textile workers in Passaic have won their strike. The New York tugmen, a new organization, won all their demands in 24 hours. There is no longer immigration, to provide new workers in your places.

It is time to make a move for Justice, instead of taking Company "Charity". You will have all the outside help that you need in winning such demands. Let your motto be: "A 20 Per Cent Increase, and a Real Union!"

LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ,
Managing Editor.

Justice—Not "Charity"

The companies think that they can keep you good slaves by giving you "charity". They think they can keep you from demanding a wage increase by giving you vacations. Even at that, the recent vacations were not given by the Standard or Vacuum Companies until there was "outside agitation." The only way you can get



Drawn By J. F. Anderson.

WILL HE CUT THE SADDLE?

A New Program for British Labor

The Independent Labor Party Declares Itself

By ERNEST C. HUNTER

BRITAIN'S PRESSING PROBLEMS

OUT of a clear sky, for most Americans, came the British General Strike. So busy were our fellow-countrymen, reading about murders and pornography, that they knew but little of the tumult brewing across the water. Readers of LABOR AGE were in a happier position, for we have followed the Coal situation for months, step by step.

What is occurring in Britain is of importance over here, because the British workers are in competition (under the present system) with American workers. Particularly is this so in certain trades.

Beyond doubt, that which is done in Britain politically and industrially will have its re-echo here. To keep in touch with the thoughts and progress of our British brothers, we are running a series of articles by leading English labor publicists. Mr. Hunter here gives the recent action of the Independent Labor Party, in declaring for "Socialism in Our Time"—and mapping out the approach to it through a demand for living wages. Later, we shall run further observations on this new program.

TO appreciate the significance of the new program adopted by the Independent Labor Party at its Whitley Bay Conference it is necessary to indulge in some little retrospection.

The I. L. P. was both father and mother to the British Labor Party. It fought for the idea of political independence and socialist representation when many of the present Labor Leaders were loyal supporters of the Liberal Party. Its leaders Keir Hardie, Ramsay MacDonald, Philip Snowden, Bruce Glasier and others were responsible for the formulation of both the policy and organization of the greater party.

It was, therefore, quite natural that when for the first time Labor took office in Great Britain the I. L. P. should have been very strongly represented in the Cabinet. It was also perfectly natural that the doings of that Government should have created a great stir and movement within the ranks of the I. L. P.

For 30 years the I. L. P. had been a propagandist organization, never for a moment dreaming that Government was in its grasp. Office came like a bolt from the blue and found the bulk of its active people quite unprepared either in temper or knowledge for national responsibility. In consequence this period of Labor Government was one of growing disillusionment. The Labor Government gained support both at home and abroad; it won confidence and votes; it gathered strength in the country, but it lost prestige amongst those who expected that their men would immediately begin to translate their propaganda enthusiasms into actual statutes.

The I. L. P. especially became impatient and irritated and although general support was given the Labor Government there was a growing feeling that the experiment of minority responsibility without definite Socialist legislation should not be repeated.

Out of this state of mind the new I. L. P. policy was born. The new line was based on two propositions:

I. The propaganda period was over. The period of construction was beginning. It was now the duty of Socialists to work out in detail the legislative proposals which they would put before the country when called upon again to govern. Cut and dried plans must be pigeon-holed ready for use.

II. The experiment of taking office as a kind of caretaker Government should not be repeated. When office was again assumed—either in a minority or a majority—opportunity should be taken to put before the House of Commons and the country a substantial Socialist program upon which this Party should stand or fall.

For a long time now the I. L. P. has been working out the implications of Proposition No. I. Important commissions representative of the most expert minds in the Party have been engaged in tackling the problems of Nationalization. For instance, the Party was responsible for the preparation of "A Socialist Policy on Agriculture" which remains the most comprehensive and detailed exposition of agricultural re-organization yet issued. In its bold declaration in favor of the complete socialization of the trade in imported foodstuffs, of the organization of the country side under the control of County Agricultural Committees representative of all interests, and of the communal and scientific marketing of all agricultural products, it has won support even outside the ranks of organized Socialism.

Again, the Party examined exhaustively the financial problem involved in the transfer of private property to public control, the methods of compensation to be adopted and the best way to assess the value of undertakings falling to State ownership.

LABOR AGE

In these and other ways the I. L. P. made a definite contribution to the development of Socialism in action. But the more the work progressed the more evident it became that Socialism was well-nigh an impossible proposition unless related to a comprehensive plan. The piece-meal method, haphazard and inconsequential, appeared to become a positive danger instead of a help. This did not mean a reversion to Communism—the rejection of the stage by stage idea—but it did mean that each stage must be part of a considered whole, instead of a disconnected and unrelated incident. Upon this thesis the I. L. P. began to build.

At the very start the builders of the new policy came up against a primary difficulty. Nearly all Socialist propaganda up till then had stressed the importance of nationalizing the Mines, Railways and other essential services as a first step. Investigation and analysis led to the conclusion that this was both unwise and impracticable.

Finance Control—Union Amalgamation

More and more the great financial houses have become the arbiters of industry. Power has been steadily passing from the productive capitalist to the banker. Mines could be nationalized—railways could be nationalized, but if the control of credit and finance remained in private hands the victory would be an empty one. It became evident that banking was the key to power.

This became even more evident when the framers of the new policy came to deal with the question of wages. Unlike the U. S. A., Great Britain has never really appreciated what desperately bad economy a low wage system really is. It is axiomatic that lack of purchasing power is the main cause of unemployment and it is certain that when banking restricts industrial credit in lean times unemployment must thereby be increased. It follows that an essential feature of a sound Socialist policy must be that the power of granting or withholding credit should be vested in the State.

From all this the I. L. P. was led on to the central point of its consideration. The control of finance is imperative but from the public point of view it is a cold academic system. You can't go to the hustings with "Nationalization of Banking" emblazoned on your banners. It would not raise a ripple on the electoral waters. It must obviously be related to an issue much closer to the day-to-day needs and hopes of the industrial masses.

When you have said this "wages" are clearly indicated. The I. L. P. has tried to produce a Socialist Wage Policy. Up to the present this wage struggle in Great Britain has been consistently see-saw and sectional in its incidence. Each craft and industry has fought for its own hand and has cared very little if apparent gains were made at the expense of others. Even if any solid gain was made it was soon swallowed up by rising prices. Lately, however, there has been an insistent demand for trade union unity and amalgamation and alliances have been the order of the day. With the growth of Trade Union solidarity the need for a co-ordinated wage policy becomes more and more apparent. The I. L. P. has striven to supply this need.

It proposes that the Labor movement itself shall set



New Leader (London)

Here we have the issue! "Not a minute on the day! Not a penny off the pay." That's the Coaldigger's Edict in Britain.

up a great National Commission which should have as its duty the estimating of a living wage "representing the minimum standard of civilized existence which shall be tolerated." It sees the possibility of such a Commission sitting in public, as did the Sanitary Commission in the mining crisis, and creating a tremendous amount of public interest and sympathy. Upon the evidence given it looks forward to a report which would unite the whole political and industrial Labor movement in a great campaign for a living standard of civilized existence.

But in a Socialist direction it goes farther. Up to now all wages have been paid on a flat ratio basis. "Equal pay for equal work" has been the slogan with the consequence that remuneration has had no relationship at all to family needs and responsibility. The I. L. P. has embodied in its new program the view that it is quite unjust and indefensible that a married man with children must support them on the same wage as a single man supports himself.

To get over this difficulty the I. L. P. has committed itself to the principle of family allowances—to paying the mother or guardian, out of direct taxation, allowances varying with the number of persons in each household.

The objection to this policy is that it might easily lead to discrimination against married men and to deductions from wages. It is argued that the total amount of wages paid would be the same—only its distribution would be varied.

The I. L. P. meets this point by insisting that the allowances must be direct State payments to the family and must be additions to wages.

EDITORIAL OF THE MONTH

THE BRITISH MINERS WIN

(From Tracey's Column, Pittsburgh Press, May 14)

Each month we propose to present the best editorial from a Labor viewpoint, in the so-called capitalist press. It will show that the Truth gets through, even under difficult circumstances. In connection with the British workers' victory, the following from the PITTSBURG PRESS is particularly interesting:

WHICH SHALL IT BE?

Stanley Baldwin saw the tragic mistake he had made, though not until a nine-day tieup had revealed the futility of his position.

He gave way as gracefully as circumstances would permit after Sir Herbert Samuels and Arthur Pugh had shown him how.

The general strike was called off on his promise that the coal mining business would be reorganized, with the subsidy restored and no reduction of wages meanwhile.

But the die-hards refused to follow his lead and the situation has shifted from a strike to a lockout, with the government forced to swap sides, unless it is prepared to eat its own agreement.

* * *

The whole object is to build up the idea of a family income responding to need and responsibility as opposed to the idea of purchasing labor as a commodity subject to the antiquated laws of supply and demand.

Taken all in all the new policy is a big attempt to produce an all-inclusive Socialist policy on wages for which the whole movement can fight.

From this point the policy develops very rapidly to its conclusion. It is argued that once a family income is fairly and reasonably estimated it will become plainly evident that capitalism is incapable of meeting the needs of a civilized life, and that once this is established the case for Socialist re-organization will be overwhelmingly established. It is urged that a Labor Government should at once proceed to enforce the agreed upon standard in industry and that failing compliance the industries concerned should be taken over by the State and re-organized from top to bottom. It is at this stage that the need for State Banking becomes obvious. No comprehensive plan of national reconstruction would be possible without it.

"Living Wage—Gateway to Socialism"

There in brief is the new I. L. P. program. Summed up it is:

"The living wage demand is the gateway to Socialism. True it is impossible of realization without complete and drastic re-organization. But the need for a living wage—the justice of a living wage—must be established in order to make people see the necessity for such reorganization. Faced with the demand for a reasonable standard capitalism must either crumble or be re-organized in such a way as to meet the demand. When having

Yesterday I said the miners had won and I am ready to repeat it.

The more the big boys wiggle, the more complete a victory the laborites will achieve.

Their fight is for moderation as opposed to eighteenth century methods, for the right of men to capitalize invention, power and science.

The question of pay is but a detail, since they are willing to earn it if given the chance.

* * *

I abhor the thought of a general strike, or lockout. I hope that our country will never face either.

But I believe that the five million workers of England come closer to the ideals my great great grandfather fought for, when he shouldered his musket and enlisted with Washington, than the so-called intelligentsia that is trying to hold them back.

Stripped of all the by-play and twisted arguments, I believe the English working classes are fighting for the right to live in a modern world and to enjoy some of the comforts and luxuries which a modern world makes possible for us ordinary folks.

They're winning, because they are right, because they have taken the side of growth and progress, which is the side of nature.

reached that step the Socialist Administration has a clear passage to the conquest of Banking, Finance, Transport and Electrical Generation—to the nationalization of land and the re-organization of agriculture."

What is the case against it?

First, there is the economic one put at the Conference with great force and cogency. (1) That whatever figure the National Commission arrived at it would be either too much or too little. If it was high the agricultural laborer would regard it as fantastic and if it was low the industrial districts will refuse to look at it. (2) That if you get past that difficulty you would be called upon first of all to re-organize the weak and ailing industries and to stand the racket of the consequent discredit and criticism.

Second, there is the political one put forward by Ramsay MacDonald. This says with great firmness that it is political un-wisdom of the first order to declare in advance what you are going to do. The duty of Socialists is to carry on a wide general propaganda and to educate people in fundamentals. When you get to office you do what circumstances the times will permit. "He who does the best that circumstance allows, does well, acts nobly, angels could no more."

These are the arguments *pro* and *con*. The I. L. P. will now go to the Labor Party and seek within the greater movement general support for its policy. What will be the outcome is in the lap of the Gods. But whatever the result, there can be no doubt that the I. L. P. has made another distinctive contribution to Socialist discussion. Pioneering is its forte and once again it has gone a-pioneering.

The Poor Tories and their Constitution

If You Don't Like a Thing, Call It Unconstitutional

By YAFFLE

WE KNOW 'EM!

All over the world, they are alike. Whenever danger threatens their precious property, they shout "Law and Order" at those who challenge them. They are strong on the "Constitution", when it suits their purposes. Such is the Tory, whether in Britain, America or Timbuctoo. The internationally famous British labor humorist, Yaffle, herewith takes a crack at their pretensions—particularly appropriate reflections in connection with Tory tactics during the General Strike.

MANY people are asking why it is only the Tories that call themselves Constitutionalists.

They say that the Labor Party also upholds the Constitution and has the same right to the word as the Tories have.

Others, however, say that a name doesn't matter anyhow. They base their attitude upon a silly remark of Romeo's—"What's in a name? A rose by any other monicker would smell as nice." As a matter of fact, it doesn't. Last summer I went into a garden where the air was heavy with the beautiful scent of two rose-trees. I pointed to one and said, "What's this called?" The owner replied, "Jemima Perkins." So I said, "My aunt, what a stink! Take it away!" I asked the name of the other, and was told it was called the "Daily Mail". And I was obliged to clap my hand to my nose and rush into the pig-sty for a breath of fresh air.

I say, names are very important. You can't tell what you think of a thing until you know its name. I got into a fearful row once for not knowing the name of a piece of sculpture. I was sent to the Grafton Gallery to write up an exhibition of modern sculpture for a newspaper. When I came to the most important group I forgot to look at the title, and going back to the office wrote as follows:—"I particularly admired a colossal figure of Samson destroying the Temple. The rugged giant, his heavy features distorted with the agony of his struggles, the great coarse hands, like blunted talons, clutching at the rough masonry, the huge gnarled limbs, thick and knotted with their weight of muscle, bowed and straining in a mighty endeavor, made a picture of despairing yet triumphant masculinity. One could almost see the desperate defiance in those sightless eyes, hear the labored breath whistling through those tortured lips, see the sweat pouring down that broad, hairy chest."

"The Happy Nymph"

It was a natural error. I had not looked at the name. The inscription was, "No. 45. 'The Happy Nymph'. This group represents a smiling water-nymph lying in languorous ease on a bed of roses. Commissioned for the

Brixton School of Eurythmics." I repeat—names cannot be disregarded.

It should be understood, therefore, that a Constitutional is not merely a man who supports the Constitution. Lots of us do that without having to join the Constitutional Club and go to sleep every afternoon with the MORNING POST over our faces.

What's A Constitution?

To understand the position, you must first realize that a Constitution is "the whole body of laws and customs which hold a State together." Therefore, anything that would undermine or upset a State or give it any kind of engine-trouble is unconstitutional. Now, with regard to the use of the word exclusively by Tories, you must remember that a Tory, owing to circumstances over which he has no control, is not very well provided with arguments. In fact, if he was, he would be black-balled from the Club. That is why he uses the term; if he hasn't any argument against anything he doesn't like, he says it is unconstitutional.



An Important Political Word.

It is in this connection necessary to recall the origin of the name. It was chosen at a meeting of the Party in 1847, which met for the purpose of finding a method of argument against things which were bad form or otherwise undesirable, but against which there were no apparent grounds of opposition. It was pointed out by the secretary that when as a matter of principle a member felt obliged to oppose some reform to which there was no plausible objection, but which nevertheless was a danger to the State such as giving workers enough to eat, it was difficult for gentlemen in their position to get up and say merely, "Rot", which, ordinarily summed up a good Tory's whole opinion on such matters.

They had before them that session, he said, typical examples, such as the Bill to Abolish the *Jus Filius Tertius*, (the Right of Lords of the Manor to Hang the Third Sons of Drain-Inspectors Without a Trial), and the Bill to Allow Miners to Go Home for the Week-end Once a Month. Many members, he said, felt obliged to oppose these measures on the grounds that they would incur Change, but could find no arguments against them. Their Research Committee, therefore, had spent considerable time in attempting to find a comprehensive phrase which conveyed categorical opposition without — he

THE NEXT GENERAL STRIKE

IT was decidedly amusing. Our so-called capitalist newspapers were hard put to it, to explain the recent British General Strike. Suddenly, there welled up in their souls a deep love and sympathy for the workers across the waters. From the WILLIAMSPORT (Pa.) SUN to the NEW YORK TIMES, they shed crocodile tears—over the sad mistake of those workers. "It must never occur again!" said they, almost in unison.

It was a case of the wish being father to the thought. Now our good capitalist editors know very well that economic progress cannot be stopped by a pious wish. They must understand the deplorable condition to which Private Enterprise, without enterprise, has brought the proud British Empire. They must have some idea of the desperation of the Employing Classes there, in attempting to stave off the effects of their own economic sins.

There is no use whatsoever for any of us to deceive ourselves. It will not aid in solving the problems before the world. Change will go on in Britain, despite all hopes to the contrary. Watching the trend of the British Movement and the trend of British history, it is clearly evident that this General Strike was largely a try-out, a sort of exercise before the main event. It marks a great step

in workers' unity since "Black Friday".

The General Strike idea will not be buried by a cartoon in the CLEVELAND PLAIN DEALER, predicting such an outcome. We must face the fact that in Britain, it is there to stay. That is said without any desires or wishes, one way or the other. It cannot be stated, even, that the workers anywhere want such a show-down. But if the Tories will play Bourbons, there cannot be any other consequence, if the conditions are ripe for such a tug-of-war. And British conditions have reached such a point, that they are rotten with their ripeness.

The next General Strike will be much more decisive than the last one. The workers now know that they can stand together. It must be remembered that the recent walk-out was preceded something over a year ago by a similar action on the part of the Danish workers. That strike was won, with the aid of the British dockers. It showed the toilers of England that the thing could be done; even as the recent crisis has demonstrated that it is an effective weapon, at such desperate times as 1926. Only a complete reorganization of British Industry on an entirely new basis can halt another nation-wide walk-out within the next five years. That is said by way of prophecy.

would not say without meaning anything—but without binding members down to any compromising exactitude. They had therefore suggested the word "Unconstitutional" (Applause).



What's In a Name?

This word, he said, had a sound both soothing and impressive, and being of several syllables would provide the nucleus of a good sentence for those whose talent of self-expression was undeveloped. It was poetic rather than definitive, conveying, as it did, rather an attitude than an idea. It had the additional advantage of the fact that few people knew what the British Constitution actually was, and would therefore be satisfied with the pleasant sound of the word and not ask what it meant. The word was then adopted with cheers as the official motto of the Tory Party, the most loyal members of which have called themselves Constitutionalists ever since.

Call It "Unconstitutional"!

Now the use of this word to describe something you don't like is quite justifiable. For ours is largely an unwritten Constitution, many of its principles being accepted without having been written down as Law in the Statute Book. Indeed, it is so little known that no collector of Folk Songs has ever been able to set it to

music. The result is that many things can be unconstitutional without being illegal, and vice versa. Thus it would not be illegal for a Ministry to remain in power after it had been defeated by a vote in the House and all of its members were in bed with the mumps. It would only be unconstitutional. On the other hand, it would not be unconstitutional to push a Home Secretary over a cliff. It would only be illegal. A Tory, then, is quite justified in calling anything he doesn't like "unconstitutional", as there is no law to prove it isn't. The fact that it is not on the Statute Book has nothing to do with the case.

I trust that I have proved that a Tory has the prior claim to the word Constitutional, even apart from the fact that nobody else wants it. I hope, too, that I have proved that the recent interpretation of the phrase by Professor Boodle, the great authority on Philology, is incorrect. The professor, you remember, said that



Sounds.

the word was in his opinion merely Onomatopoeia, being hitherto the nearest attempt to convey in language the uninelligible sound made by the male species Clubman when confronted by an enemy during the nesting season.

It is nothing of the sort. It is a highly expressive word, fraught with the deepest political significance.

Brookwood's Pages

American Labor in the War and Post-War Period

By ARTHUR W. CALHOUN

V. INDUSTRIAL STRUGGLES SINCE 1912.

In spite of the fact that the capitalist rulers of the world provided during the period under discussion what might have been regarded as an ample outlet for pent up fighting spirit, the industrial system was not spared a recurrence of first-rate shocks at the hands of warring economic forces. From the Ludlow struggle at the beginning to the Passaic war at the end, the period since 1912 has borne continued witness to the fact that the class struggle is the most important affair in the world today.

The first notable outburst after the Lawrence textile strike of 1912 was the strike against the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, which culminated in the horrors of armed warfare and massacre of non-combatants in the tent colony. This attack on the Rockefeller interests was dramatized into a moving tragedy, with John D. Rockefeller, Jr., cast as the villain. He was reported as disavowing responsibility inasmuch as competent superintendents were employed to take charge of those distant interests. Nevertheless the bitter publicity aimed against him must have got under the skin. At any rate, the war in Colorado was succeeded by the vaunted company union plan, which some have interpreted as recognition by employing interests of the principal of collective relations with the workers. It has even been suggested that company unions may develop into real labor unions, repudiating the feudal relation under which they were started, and formed on industrial lines that will present a challenge to the trade unions as at present constituted. Disturbances that have taken place among the Rockefeller employees working under the company union plan suggest that it might at least be worth while for the bona fide unions to do some boring from within.*

The period from 1915 to 1922 was marked by a series of railroad struggles, first the battle for the eight-hour day, marked by the strike threat of the Brotherhoods in 1916, the passage of the Adamson Law enacting the basic eight-hour day for purposes of wage computation, and the pressure of government in behalf of uninterrupted rail service. This series of events dramatized the railroad problem on a national scale, and is sometimes interpreted as meaning that it is actually in the power of the transportation employees to tie up the lines and thus to wield an effective club in the process of collective bargaining. The episode really suggests, however, that resort to such extreme measures will lead to government control of wages and hours, a consummation of questionable value from the standpoint of unionism.

In 1919 came the "outlaw strikes" characterized by impatience with the cautious policies of the unions, re-

volt against the officials, and attempts at organization of duel unions. Then came the shopmen's strike, which met with the sweeping federal injunction and petered out into a sullen acceptance of company unionism or adoption of the B. & O. plan. The whole railroad struggle of the period emphasizes impressively the impossibility of effective action without concert among the crafts; and the outlaw strikes were a wholesome sign of rank and file protest against dilatory and timorous policies on the part of old-fashioned craft officials.**

The Coal Struggle from 1919 on can scarcely be said to have led to better results than did the battle on the railroads. In the beginning there was an outburst of outlaw strikes in the Illinois field in protest over the officials' interpretation of the ambiguous wording of the federal agreement made during the war. The forcible suppression of this revolt, and similar policies of repression by the officialdom, since have not tended to produce unity in the organization, nor was the membership inspired by President Lewis' "patriotic" deference to the federal injunction which tied up the union funds and smashed the official strike. The organization as a whole seems to be in a condition of helplessness in the face of overpowering conditions, and the fiasco of the anthracite strike has not helped to raise the morale of the organization. No one can tell along what lines the miners' organization could be expected to make headway with the industry so overdeveloped, with so large a part of the field non-union, and with so fundamental a conflict of viewpoint within the official ranks. Under such conditions there can be no consistent drive for either unionization or nationalization, and there is no evidence of any new policies capable of restoring confidence and enthusiasm among the union miners.***

The assaults on the trustified industries were not more successful, although masterly attempts were made upon the packing and the steel industry. These ventures involved a larger strategy of labor organization and required the whole-hearted support of organized Labor as a whole. Temporary success in the packing industry gave impetus to the movement to organize steel, in which it was easy to capitalize the spontaneous revolt of the workers. The organizing committee worked tirelessly and effectively, but the strike collapsed for lack of moral, financial, and organizing support on the part of the various unions, and for lack of effective publicity in behalf of the strike. Various unions obstructed and sabotaged the strike or indulged in jurisdictional disputes or panicky fears over what to do with the masses of

**See Sylvia Kopald's "Rebellion in Labor Unions (Boni & Liveright).

***Brother Calhoun has allowed pessimism decidedly to overcolor his judgment. Any one who has been to the Anthracite region knows that the strike was a victory and that union loyalty amounting to religious devotion exists among the men. As to nationalization, that is another story.—Editor.

*On this subject see the studies in company unionism made by Ben Selekman for the Russell Sage Foundation: Employee Representation in Steel Works; Employee Representation in Coal Mines; Sharing Management With the Workers.

THE BRITISH MUDDLE

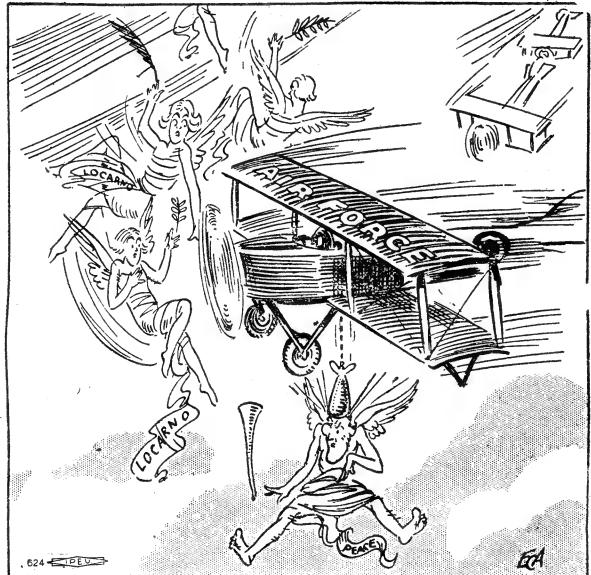


New Leader (London)

"All Hands to the Rope!"

prospective recruits. This lack of real will on the part of important unions to organize the industry combined with the prevalence of the "red" scare on the part of the public to undermine the effective tie-up of the industry and force the workers back. The strike did, however, lead to the Interchurch investigation of the industry, and the resulting publicity combined with the fear inspired in the magnates by the strike to bring the eight-hour day. Still Labor stands at pause in face of the trustified industries. Inability to join forces for effective union drives leads Labor to revert to the old anti-trust attitude, as in its old-fashioned attack on the Ward Baking merger.

In the field of clothing and textiles, the period was marked by the organization of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, which has proved to be one of the most effective labor organizations in the country; by the development of constitutional government in the clothing industry under jurisdiction of the Amalgamated, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and smaller unions; by the elevation of labor standards, and the introduction of unemployment insurance; by many intense struggles for the unionization of the textile industry, including the organization of the Amalgamated Textile Workers, with the aid of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Progress in textiles has not been great, however. The United Textile Workers has for the time being suspended operations in the South, which is now the chief field for cotton weaving; and even the Passaic demonstration is in the nature of an outlaw strike led by Communists without real union connection. It would almost seem that the clothing unions would have to assume responsibility for



London Daily Herald

The Big Air Force Among the Locarno Angels!

spreading organization into the field from which comes the material on which they work.

On the whole, the period since the eve of the war shows no evidence that the American Labor Movement as a whole has effectively sized up the industrial situation or increased its ability to cope with it. The struggles of the period have been sporadic and of the nature of guerilla warfare, with no large strategy and with no evidence of constructive imagination save on the part of a stray leader here and there. In particular, it is clear that the movement in its present disjointed shape can do nothing to organize the trustified industries, where the problem of the future lies. Even in the garment industry, where as much has been accomplished as anywhere else, the success of unionism has been due more or less to the continuance of small scale operations; although there is indication, as in the case of Hart, Schaffner, and Marx, of J. L. Taylor, and of the Nash concern that the clothing unions may be able to match their strategy with that of the bigger concerns as they develop.

The relative inertness of the American Labor Movement in the years since the war may be attributed in part to the let-down from the era of bunk on which the people were fed during the capitalist slaughter-fest, but it is due more largely to the fact that the war left the American workers so much better off in a material way than those of the rest of the world that they are inclined to let well enough alone and to make a truce with the employers. In other words, the American worker has still the capitalist psychology and does not care for class struggle.

EDITORIAL NOTE TO ABOVE

Such a review of Labor's work as the above, with its criticism of certain Phases of the Movement, will undoubtedly be of help. But we must express our strong disagreement with some of Brother Calhoun's Judgments. So much do we disagree, that we have asked A. J. Muste, Dean of Brookwood, to give a more-proportioned picture of Labor's present-day situation, and the Editor himself will review the miner's fight and problems.

A Golden Silver Jubilee

Men Who Challenge Pennsylvania's Autocracy

FROM Easton to Erie there runs a royal highway. A rare treat is in store for him who covers it from end to end, as I did on three fair days in May. The beauty and power of Pennsylvania are there exposed, in silent eloquence.

There we see the Poconos, stored with fish and game and secret water power. Up around Windgap the high tension wires of the Pennsylvania Light and Power Co. confront us—treading across the hills and dales, in defiance of private boundaries or roadways. Always there are the endless timberlands—some of them on fire, as was most of a mountain over which we drove, beyond Clearfield. Then, there are the coalfields—those of anthracite, which we come upon at Mauch Chunk and Hazelton, and those of bituminous, running South from Dubois. We just escape the belching steel works of Bethlehem in the East and of Pittsburg in the West. The grain fields around the Voneida State Park, with its healthful pine trees, remind us that Pennsylvania is also one of the great wheat-producing states of the Union, even exceeding Minnesota.

A Paradise—Lost

This is truly a Paradise, intended for man's use and enjoyment. And yet, we know with shame that it is a Paradise Lost to the average man, to the worker of the Keystone State. It is the seat of America's industrial autocracy. Mention Pennsylvania, and one instinctively thinks of Political Reaction, of State Police, of bloody strikes bloodily put down, of everything that puts the lie to the claim that we are as yet a Real Democracy.

In Erie—at the end of the journey—there sat a body which knows this, and has set out to meet it. The Pennsylvania Federation of Labor has challenged the state of affairs existing in this Commonwealth. It has fought every measure of autocratic origin which has been proposed. It has stood for every measure for further democracy which has been agitated. As Hugh Frayne, of the A. F. of L., stated: "It is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, of our State Federations."

The workers of Pennsylvania have still a long way to go to win all that they want. But on the pathway ahead of them the Federation bids fair to be their constant and militant guide. Its president, Jim Maurer, has embodied much of the idealistic spirit of American Labor—not merely fighting for the legislation and conditions of today, but for the aspirations of tomorrow. In the eloquent nominating speech, which chose Maurer for his eighth two-year term, President Chris Golden of District 9 of the Mines, recited the wide field of Jim's interests; his presidency of the Workers Education Bureau of

Brookwood and of LABOR AGE, and his connection with Manumit, the school for workers' children. It was an impressive recital, that brought the delegates to their feet, cheering.

A Militant Record

It is 25 years since the Federation was born. In that time, it has always kept itself in the van of the Movement, in ideals and in action. It has stood for Industrial Unionism (when such can be applied), for trade relations with Russia, against Military Training Camps. It has led the fight for Old Age Pensions, a real Workmen's Compensation Law and Mothers' Assistance. It has established its own Workers Education Department with a Director. It is making a careful study of the coming Giant Power, and what it will bring to the workers. It has attacked the State Constabulary and shown up their brutality, until much has been done to clip their claws by Governor Pinchot. It has weakened the sedition law. It has proved a powerful opponent for the Grundy-Mellon Manufacturers Machine, which attempts to ride roughshod over the State.

Among its leaders have been such men of broad vision as Thomas Kennedy, now General Secretary of the United Mine Workers, Chris Golden of District 9, and John Brophy of District 2. Its spirit is also reflected in those fine educational efforts put forth in Philadelphia, through the hard work of George Creech of the Textile Workers and E. J. Lever of the Machinists, and in the Central Pennsylvania mining country by Paul Fuller. It has had the service of such a staunch cooperationist as Andrew Bower of the Cigarmakers and of such a well-known trade unionist as John Phillips. There has been a remarkable and inspiring unity back of Maurer in the job he has done so well.

After all, Jim Maurer himself is one of the most striking characters in American labor history. He is an internationalist who has never lost touch with the folks and neighbors at home in Reading, a Socialist who has always been first a trade unionist, a man fighting today and thinking of tomorrow. His name is one that will live, boldly and vigorously written in the annals issued by the workers of the years to come.

And so we are right in calling it, a Golden Silver Jubilee. We do not mean to say that there is not much to be improved upon in the ranks of the Federation. Maurer himself rang that note, emphatically, when he said that the workers were wretchedly in need of education—about their job, about their destiny, about how that destiny can be fulfilled. But the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor realizes this. And that is a victory already more than half won.

"LABOR AGE" ACTION

One of the features of the Pennsylvania Federation of Labor was the fine recognition given LABOR AGE. It was mentioned in the President's report in a special section, and strongly endorsed by the Convention.

London in Strike-Time

A Letter from Prynce Hopkins

London, May 7, 1926.

Dear Louis:

I SUPPOSE you'll wish to know what London is like during the general strike.

Well, the atmosphere during a general strike is very much like that which one feels during wartime. The average citizen is almost as superficially informed by his newspaper of the philosophy of "the other side" in the dispute, and almost equally eager to be of service according to his lights, as in 1914. He is moved also by much of the same love of adventure in joining with comrades in work which takes him out of his normal routine.

Indeed, this latter fact has had the strange consequence, that in banding themselves together to resist miners' demands which they stigmatize as communistic, the most conservative people have begun to practice a measure of anarchistic communism among themselves. Stock brokers and bankers have taken to leaving their office early in the afternoons in order to work at some manual labor. People of all classes are flocking to the stations designated for any work to which they may be assigned.

Likewise all who own motorcars of any description have offered the use of them for conveying clerks and shop girls to and from their work in the morning. Among the vast crowds which, deprived of train-service or subway, pour into London in the morning and out of it in the evening, whoever has either a truck or a limousine, freely invites all and sundry to pack themselves in.

Of course, the travelling is slow. A friend living twelve miles out of town told me, on the second day of the strike, that in his car he had travelled the first four miles of the distance in half an hour, the second four miles in an hour, and the remaining four miles in two hours. One result of this is that the workingday in town has been greatly shortened. Most firms that I know of are letting their employees off at about four o'clock in the afternoon, in order that they may get home for a late dinner.

The government (need I say?) while making the customary declarations of its impartiality in this dispute, expresses more openly every day its true role as the defender of the existing system. Does private ownership confess its incapacity to make the mines pay? That isn't considered an indictment of private ownership; the consequences of the managers' incompetence must be shifted onto the backs of the miners rather than public ownership be tried.

Moreover, how criminally stupid of the government to decline the offer of the strikers to pass all food trams and trucks which are provided with passes signed by the labor leaders!

In such times of crisis as this, national peculiarities come to the fore. And in London the strike has, until the present date, provided a stage for the display of these admirable British characteristics.

One of these consists in a sportsmanlike way of taking the hardships incidental to the situation. There's very little "grousing" heard. At this writing, everyone has retained his good humor and ability to laugh at inconveniences. Perhaps when these words have reached America, it will cease to be so,—but a more east-European population would doubtfully have kept its temper so intact.

A second characteristic consists in a phlegmatic refusal to get excited. To be sure, conversation does turn to speculation on what the outcome of the crisis will be. Yet few people show outwardly any serious concern, nor believe that a revolution is imminent. Only occasionally a fear is expressed that *should* the present *impasse* last until hunger begins to stalk through the land, bloodshed might ensue. Meantime John Citizen continues to enjoy his wholesome game of tennis or cricket. It is surprising, the amount of space which is devoted by the little substitutes for newspapers to racing news, a thing more important to the Englishman than his country's fate. Such calm, for good or evil, would hardly be seen in more southerly populations.

The third characteristic is found in the fairmindedness of the average citizen. As I have suggested, he is imperfectly informed of any philosophy which seeks to substitute a more perfect economic order for the present one that bears fruit in just these conflicts. Moreover, the great free-speech forum of Hyde Park has temporarily been abolished, and that area turned over for a parking space for milk wagons, while the expatriated crowds who used to blow off steam therein now lower menacingly from outside the closed gates. But if you ask the average Londoner whom he blames for the strike, he generally is not dogmatic. He, with his inability to envisage a more efficient system than capitalism, blames the miners for a lack of sense of reality in not accepting some increment of working hours when their industry is in such straits. But he will generally follow this with the caution that neither does he hold wholly with the mine-owners, whose poor management has been shown by reports to have brought upon their own heads more losses than can be attributed to high cost of labor. Besides, he often adds, the owners can afford an actual loss in the mines, while they continue to recoup themselves individually by charging the workers for "fairway", or right of passage over private land on their way to the pit head. Finally the citizen is sure to have some blame for the existing Tory government, which has never faced an issue squarely, but only muddled and temporized and subsidized until it made inevitable the present catastrophe.

Of course, this is not to deny that the bulk of the population are rapidly taking sides in this strife. The classes separate from the masses. The aristocratic and the wealthy and those who would like to be considered

(Continued on last page)

Labor History in the Making

By LOUIS FRANCIS BUDENZ

IN THE U. S. A.

A NEW ERA OF ORGANIZATION

SPRING has come, and with it renewed organization drives. The time is favorable. Immigration is at a low ebb. That cuts down the possibility of men or women being brought into striking industries, to serve as strikebreakers without knowing what the conditions are. After a few years' experience with "company unionism" and other like schemes, the workers are beginning to understand that their hope lies in real unionism.

Out in the Middle West the drive has begun, and in New Jersey in particular in the East. There is a no more fertile field than the latter State. Northern New Jersey is filled with unorganized, low-paid workers, by no means contented with the dole handed out to them by over-prosperous employers.

The arrest of 12 "agitators" before the Durant Automobile Works in Elizabeth is a pretty good thermometer of the fear among the employers of an awakened militancy among their men.

To reap the full benefits of organization work, Labor must not be afraid of mass organization strikes. There must be pep and fervor in the effort put forth. The tactics of after-the-war, of endeavoring to get a worker here and a worker there to enroll, are not likely to put over the unionization of present-day Fordized industry. The conveyor has reduced the number of the skilled craftsmen, proud of their particular work. The semi-skilled can be reached only with a message of mass action.

The new era is opening. Let us make the most of it.

THOUGHT FOR THE UNORGANIZED

In Re: The Building and Printing Trades

AT this season of the year, when June brides and June papa's boys from our colleges are embarking upon new careers, an entirely different commencement in life is being made by new mechanics in the building and printing trades.

In New York City, at Washington Irving High School, the apprentices of all the building crafts received their credentials as full-fledged mechanics, under the watchful eye of the unions. Among the printers, pressmen and lithographers, similar "graduations" are taking place—from the schools undertaken by these union organizations.

These young men enter into highly-protected trades. They find a standard of wages set for them, and conditions won for them by pioneers in trade unionism. They enjoy a short work-week—as low as 40 hours for the painters and others. They receive a decent wage—as high as \$14 a day in the case of the plasterers. That is the wage which the men in this trade in Chicago are striking for now, and they will get it.

Men do not live by bread alone. High wages are not the only index of workers' success. Education and real enjoyment of the nobler things of life are every bit as important. But high wages and leisure allow for the cultivation of these other things. The building and printing trades have laid the foundation for that. They have done more—for their contribution to Trade Unionism has made it possible for Labor to fight for humane legislation, which protects organized and unorganized alike.

Workmen's compensation, old age pensions, social insurance of all sorts, safety legislation, public ownership of public services for the public good—all flow from the efforts of Organized Labor.

The thought for the unorganized in other industries is: Go you and do likewise. The same form of organization that has won success in the building and printing trades may not be serviceable in semi-skilled and unskilled industries. United Mine Workers, United Textile Workers and the needle trades are on an industrial basis. But the same results can be procured—if the Fordized worker is awake to his opportunity.

THE EXAMPLE OF READING, PA.

LATELY, we have called attention to the need for a closer study by the organized workers of how to secure widespread publicity for their cause. It is a vital matter.

Among the steps leading to success, to which we have pointed, is a live, honestly-run and union-owned local newspaper. As soon as such a paper appears and makes itself felt, the local dailies immediately wake up to the fact that Organized Labor has news of value. It becomes good business to get something of the workers' story out in their columns.

To the several examples we must now add Reading, Pa. This city has long enjoyed a splendid weekly—the READING LABOR ADVOCATE. Not only has it been attractively gotten up, but it has been managed on the business end by J. Henry Stump, president of the central body, in a way that private profit enterprises might envy. Indeed, we regret that Brother Stump's striking execu-

tive ability cannot be used more widely by labor organizations.

What has happened now in Reading? The TRIBUNE of that city, a daily, has introduced a weekly labor page. It is giving labor news of the most progressive type thoroughly from a labor viewpoint. The editor of that page, John Edelman, is not only a man of culture but of intimate acquaintance with the Labor Movement, both here and abroad. "Jim" Maurer is supervising editor of the page—and that means "Enough said". His name assures it of having real stuff in it.

Reading Labor, its paper and the daily with the labor page, are all to be congratulated on this accomplishment.

MACHINE—OR ORGANIZED LABOR?

GENIAL publicity men are always employed by big corporations, to get out their propaganda to the easily-bled "public". Such a pleasant fellow is the publicity director of the General Electric Company—the Electric Trust, if you please—Mr. C. M. Ripley.

In a good-comradely way, Mr. Ripley is going up and down the country, telling audiences that the Machine is responsible for high wages and low hours. It's too bad, but bluntly: this is an economic falsehood. It is not the machine which has brought these bettered conditions. It is a fighting, vigilant organized movement of the workers that has done this.

To give credit to the Machine is a happy idea of the company-union corporations. It allows them to get out the thought that militant union organization is not necessary. "Just leave it to the dear, dear corporations and their machines—and all will be well."

Now, economic history tells the gruesome story of the Machine without Organized Labor. It tells of the days when it was a crime to form a workers' combination—when the Industrial Revolution turned our whole system topsy-turvy with the first machine discoveries. Thousand of workers were impoverished. Thousands more were made slaves in the sweat shops and dens, under the new capitalists' heels. It was organization alone which redeemed them from this Hell, so vividly pictured by Carlyle and Ruskin and Morris.

"Accept the machine," said Samuel Gompers. But not in the sense that the General Electric says it. Accept the Machine, because it is inevitable. Because, properly controlled, it can be a blessing, rather than a curse. But meet it with strong union organization. That's the answer to the Power Trust's propaganda.

FOUR BILLIONS IN VELVET

ABSENTEE ownership is undoubtedly the master institution of America, as Thorstein Veblen has termed it. As such, it naturally exacts its royal share of tribute from its servants and subjects.

Of late we have heard much of the high wages of our workmen. If they be high in comparison with the wages of workmen in other countries the cause is readily seen. It is not due to any divine institution of Benevolent Employers. It is due to the crude fact that we are the financial Caesar of the World, holding the position which everybody claimed Germany aspired to attain. Our

AN investigation of Pennsylvania's primary for United States Senator is slated to take place soon.

There are hints that it will prove another Newberry-Lorimer case. Oodles of money were poured out for Mr. Vare. Oodles more were sent through the State for the Mellon-Pepper slate.

Our Secretary of Treasury has been hailed as another Alexander Hamilton. Certainly he is the big boss of Calvin Coolidge. Certainly, he is trailing with a slimy gang in Pennsylvania. The Ohio gang is not in it, compared to the Mellon outfit. To win for their candidate for Governor, they did not hesitate to resort to forgery. A fake letter from President William Green of the A. F. of L. was broadcasted in advertisements and news items, through the venal press of the State.

What though Mr. Green denounced it as a "forgery and a lie"? The papers printed his denial not at all, or in an obscure corner. Meanwhile, they continued to run the ad a second time!

workmen get a share of the swag; that is all.

But the workers' share is not so much, after all. Leland Olds, the economist of the Federated Press, calls attention to the report on dividends and profits just made public for 1925 by the United States Department of Commerce. For the first time in our history, the sum total of these tributes to absentee ownership reached the high figure of \$4,077,324,000. This is a gain of 20 per cent over the last of the war profit years, 1920.

This huge return to absentee owners would provide a full year's pay to over 3,000,000 workers at the average wage paid in America's factories. Passed around among all the farmers, factory workers, miners and railroad workers of the country, it would have given each an addition of \$240 to his annual budget.

We suggest that it be passed around: in the form of continued wage increases. Money in circulation means a further stimulation of production. This Four Billions in velvet to those "who work not, neither do they spin," put in the workers' pockets, would help those workers to put other workers to work.

THE AMALGAMATED BANK IS UNION

WE are pleased to mention two facts, of credit to the Amalgamated Bank of New York City, conducted by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

One is, that this bank last month was completely unionized, with the consent of its officials. The check-off for the bank clerks was established, thus giving the Bookkeepers' and Stenographers' Union a steady revenue from that place. A spread of the check-off will allow for organizing efforts in other directions. It is to be regretted that several other so-called labor banks have not allowed their employes to be unionized.

The other fact is, that the Bank has loaned the striking Furriers' Union \$100,000 for strike purposes. Of course, those who are familiar with the conduct of the institution know that this was done after proper security had been arranged. Nevertheless, the loan is an indication of the bank's belief that the Furriers will soon have won their battle for a shorter work-week and for higher pay.

Vital Issues

NO RELIEF FROM COURTS OR COMMISSIONS

SOME sorely-pressed ultimate consumer may have got the idea in his head that the recent Ward Baking Corporation "dissolution" or the recent Interstate Commerce Commission decision against the Nickel Plate merger mean something. If so, the poor fellow is in for a sad disillusionment.

As with all court and commission actions "against" big corporations, they mean absolutely nothing to the consumers. The Ward interests, in the person of their three big combines, will go on merrily to bleed the public. They will do this, even as the Standard Oil Company has done; even as the anthracite coal-railroad combine has done. Both of these big units were "dissolved" by courts, with a great deal of publicity and gusto. They are still operating at the old stand. The enormous profits which they made during the recent years indicate that they are in quite a lusty state of health.

The Nickel Plate merger will finally go through. The thing that troubled the Interstate Commerce Commission was the non-voting stock proposal, involved in the merger. The other features of the merger were strongly endorsed. Dr. William Z. Ripley's assault on non-voting stock came just at the right time, to affect the Commis-

sion's decision. Then, there were whispers that the war between Dillon, Read & Co. and J. P. Morgan & Co. had something to do with it. The former new financial power is pressing the Morgan interests, here and abroad. It has gotten Morgan in several bad holes. It was the originator of non-voting stocks. This certainly gave Morgan a fine chance to hit Dillon, Read's pet invention in the head.

Be that as it may, the workers might as well regard Courts and Commissions, by and large, as hopeless instruments for their protection. Court and Commissions are the protectors of Big Business. That is their job, and they will do it well. A cursory glance at Dr. John Bauer's **EFFECTIVE REGULATION OF PUBLIC UTILITIES** is enough to assure any doubting Thomas of that.

The avenues open to the workers are strongly organized unions, to fight these strongly organized mergers, and the development of plans like the Plumb Plan, to meet the challenge of consolidation. To hope to head it off by court or commission action is as wild a dream as to hope for a faithful dog to turn against its master. It simply won't be done.

BRITISH CLASS GOVERNMENT

IF any worker were so innocent as to have doubts about the "class" nature of the British Tory Government, such doubts were dissipated by the coal crisis of May 1.

A Coal Commission, appointed by that Government, had made a report. It had stated that the mining industry was in chaos. It had declared that the miners had had nothing to do with bringing coal to this pass. Worn-out methods and hopeless inefficiency on the part of the operators were the major causes, plus the bad condition of Britain in general. The Commission went so far as to recommend that the industry be bought out by the government, in order that the government might set it on its feet for the operators.

While the operators were to be rescued from their own stupidity by this action of the government, which would leave them in control of the State-owned mines, the miners were to "sacrifice" by having their wages cut or hours lengthened. These wages at present average around the sum of \$11 per week. The operators insisted that these figures be cut still lower. In addition, the cut was to be made in different ratios in different parts of the country, according to the condition of the various operations. The workers, in other words, were to bear the burden of the mine owners' own inefficiency.

When the operators became stubborn, and posted their own wage scales up at the mines, the government suddenly became the champion of the mine owners. It began to talk about "King and Country" instead of about starvation wages. It began to think in terms of troops instead of in terms of the coal diggers.

The general strike was the only answer. A cut for the

miners was the prelude to cuts for the engineers (machinists), already facing a big national fight, and for Labor in general. The under-class were to be the "goats" for the long years of priggish imbecillity among the millionaire coal lords, adorned with their titles of Sir and Earl and Duke.

The American Institute of Economics, after an expert study of British mining, finds the whole business hopelessly inefficient. To point to only one item: 81 per cent of the product is still hand-mined. As this Institute says: "To ask the miners to take a wage cut, as the Tory Premier did) in the industry, as set forth by two royal commissions, and to leave the inefficiency untouched, was obviously to court disaster."

In the final line-up, Blundering Baldwin could not desert his class. He courted disaster, and disaster was his reward. Perhaps the victory of Labor in the last four by-elections, even in Tory strongholds, had something to do with his new-found stubbornness. That stubbornness is one of the dying gasps of Capitalism in Britain. No matter what the outcome of the present upheaval, the economic condition of the country—as outlined so clearly by Mr. Tracey in our last issue—is so undermined, that the country cannot recover, under present methods of conducting industry. The Tories have begun to understand that, to a degree. They are launching subsidies for "Private Enterprise" and are building state-owned manufacturing establishments on a big scale. But their desire is to run these, Fascist-fashion, rather than under the democratic rule of the workers. Therein they have sowed a whirlwind, which undoubtedly will come home for reaping in due time.

In Other Lands

AROUND THE WORLD

England's industrial problems do not cease with the heartening show of solidarity, in the General Strike. There is the whole business of coal reorganization to be put through, including purchase of the mineral rights by the Government and the introduction of modern machinery. There is the equally big development of electric power, considered so essential for Britain's future.

Among the workers the matter of wages and conditions does not end with the miners. The engineers (machinists) are determined that their wage increase demand shall not be put off much longer. It has been hanging fire for two years. The wages of the machinists are about 30 per cent below the pre-war level, the skilled mechanic getting less than \$15 per week. An increase of \$5 is demanded, to which the employers have replied with the ultimatum that they will resist any such demand "to the fullest extent". A fight, therefore, is due in that field.

A significant congress took place in Sofia in mid-April, when the Balkan Trade Union Conference met. It was called by the International Federation of Trade Unions. Trade unions from Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, Roumania and Greece were directly represented, with fraternal delegates from the I. F. T. U., Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia. The immediate task of the Balkan unions was set down as: Shortening of hours, raising of wages, creation of social insurance of all kinds, and the education of the workers, intellectually.

That the workers of the Balkans have spunk in them is shown in the big strike at the iron works of Reschitza, Roumania. Over 7,000 iron workers have laid down their tools. Three thousand miners, who contributed to the relief of the strikers, were locked out. The number of workers out is, therefore, upward of 10,000. The secret police and the military have undertaken a campaign of terrorism, in the hope of breaking the strike.

From far-off Nippon comes news of a new spirit of growth in the Japanese unions. Trade unionism there dates virtually from the great rice riots of August, 1918. The movement grew rapidly. In 1920, it had 500,000 members. But the post-war depression had its effect here, too, and the present membership is something over 250,000. The movement is very much divided; and a central federation, speaking for all the workers, is the big need.

In China, things are becoming more complicated. The so-called "People's Armies", backed to a degree by Soviet Russia, have been temporarily defeated by the Chinese militarists, backed by Japan and England. The revolutionary city of Canton, on the other hand, has beaten back all efforts to subject it. The British blockade against the Canton Strike Union has been offset by a boycott of Hong-Kong, the British port in China. Hong-Kong, in fact, is on the verge of complete economic collapse.

While labor revolt is appearing in countries hitherto thought backward, the "War for Democracy" has produced a startling batch of dictatorships in Europe. Mussolini has just officially proclaimed "the death of Liberalism". The right to strike is now a crime. It has gone into the waste basket, with the rights of free speech and free assembly. Last month saw the death of Amendola, the noted Italian

Liberal, who expired from the maiming received from Fascists—at the direct order of Mussolini. What Pilsudski, a former Socialist, will do in Poland remains to be seen. But he will be strongly tempted toward a Fascist dictatorship. Such a move will please the capitalists of America, who control the fate of Central Europe.

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THIS PICTURE?



Detroit News

It's all wrong! France is running from whence Germany came—but Germany is little better off at that.

COLLAPSE IN EUROPE

THAT ill wind that blows nobody good has hit Europe during the past six months.

American capitalists are about the only winners by its sweeping destruction—and even they may lose, if it goes too far. Economic collapse is not only facing Britain. It is also plaguing Central Europe.

Here is part of the roll-call: In Germany, dealt with at more length on the next page, the number of unemployed receiving relief jumped to 2,017,461 by March 15th. Unemployment riots and demonstrations continue. Feeling is running high, and may aid considerably to poll a winning vote for the Socialist-Communist joint proposal to confiscate all royal property.

In France: The franc is madly falling in value. Before the war it was worth 20 cents in American money. Today it is hovering around 3 to 5 cents, with further falls in prospect. The Morocco war is unpopular, and the smaller industries are showing signs of depression. The great number of immigrants in France would make widespread unemployment a serious problem. Local strikes are occurring all over the country.

Poland and Czecho-Slovakia are hit very hard. The number of unemployed in the former country had jumped to almost 400,000 by the middle of March. Coal and textiles are in a bad way in both lands. Despite the

At the Library Table

WHAT IS INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY?

DURING a recent war we fought to make the world safe for Democracy. We also fought to end all wars.

One aim seems to have been as successful as the other. Out of the war have come two challenges to Democracy. One, the Communist Revolution in Russia; the other, the Fascist Revolution in Italy. Not to mention by-products of the two attacks on "Liberalism".

When the Powers that Be in America openly applaud the doings of Mussolini, we can understand how much of a hoodwinking our people received, in believing that we were fighting in 1918 for further democratic advance. Nevertheless, the name "Industrial Democracy"—long heralded as the next step to Political Democracy—has not lost its power.

It has been caught up by the Employing Interests, who felt instinctively that the workers must have some new form of camouflage handed them. The new schemes of Company Unionism are all labelled, "Democracy". They are establishing "Republics of Labor", in which the "citizens" go through various dumb shows of casting ballots, etc., which mean absolutely nothing. The demand for "Industrial Democracy" still persists among the workers in all sorts of forms, throughout the world. Such demand seems sure to have its way, even as Political Democracy did.

To help state the whole case in a more definite way, Norman Thomas has prepared a pamphlet on "What Is Industrial Democracy?" for the League for Industrial Democracy. Surely, no organization should know better what the answer is than the organization devoted to spreading the idea. Further, anything that Norman Thomas writes is certain to prove worthy of reading. Despite his own definite views—or perhaps, because of them—he deals with the various opinions on what Industrial Democracy means, in an impartial and enlightening way.

Two quotations will serve to whet your appetite for more:

"I once heard a very effective public speaker answer

the question: 'What is Industrial Democracy?' somewhat thus: 'Under the capitalist system the boss selects the worker. Under the system I advocate, the workers elect the boss. That is what I understand by industrial democracy. This is what I understand by Socialism.' The antithesis was effective and to a large degree true, but it leaves unsolved a great many questions as to the method of procedure. How will the workers elect the boss? How will coordination between different industries be obtained? How under a simple system of electing the bosses in productive enterprises will the needs of men as producers be related to their needs as consumers?.... Yet since it is desirable to have a general idea as a place to begin, we may say broadly that democracy means in Lincoln's phrase, government of the people, by the people and for the people; and that industrial democracy is the application of this same idea to our economic life."

"There are limits (today)—very definite limits—which have already been set to the power of the owners over the lives of the workers. In setting these limits unquestionably the chief force has been the trade unions. It is a somewhat ironic fact that in the volume of discussion of industrial democracy which has mounted high within the last few years, so little space has been given to the activities of the unions. Employers have organized company unions and their work has been acclaimed as an example of industrial democracy. Theorists have talked about syndicalism or Guild Socialism and their theorizing has been applauded or derided as industrial democracy. Yet any realist who examines the situation must understand that the substantial force which had kept the worker from abject slavery to the owner of the machine at which he is employed is his trade union. This is true whether that particular union is conservative or radical, whether it talks merely of higher wages or dreams of social revolution."

We invite you to read more. You can obtain it for 10 cents from the League for Industrial Democracy, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

LONDON IN STRIKE TIME

(From page 23)

as of that clan flock to the support of the government. The seamstresses, the railway clerks and other humble city workers are pretty solid for the miners. The school teachers especially have realized, that tomorrow they themselves must expect to face the reduction of wages against which the miners are fighting today. Nevertheless, the class demarkation isn't rigid. Thus that famous debating society, the Oxford Union, passed a vote of censure on the cabinet.

Very wisely, and as courteously, the Trades Union Congress have declined the check for \$250,000 sent them by the All-Russian Council of Trades Unions. To have accepted would have been to invite all the popular suspicion and hatred which is everywhere concentrated against foreign, and above all against Bolshevik, interference. It would have ruined the cause. Less cautious were the other side, when the British Broadcast-

ing Company refused to put "on the air" the Archbishop of Canterbury's appeal to all parties to be reasonable.

I've mentioned the tiny substitutes which are printed by the various newspapers in lieu of their usual large editions. Some of these are very amusing. They contain the latest strike-situation, together with the racing news above referred to, and a few other items of especial interest. Some come out with wild rumors—rumors are rife at such time. But more warn the public, sensibly, against believing or spreading such stories. I also saw the labor-sheet, THE BRITISH WORKER, but was unable to secure one.

Finally; as to how long the strike will last, hardly anyone hazards a guess. The railwaymen have ample funds for a long fight, but the miners' funds will pay their strike benefits for only a fortnight or so, it's said, except insofar as they're receiving help from comrades in other lands, especially Canada.

FOLLOW THE FIGHT

Wherever Workers Are Battling for Real Freedom and Against the "Company Union" Bunk, LABOR AGE is on the job: Assisting with the Facts, Encouraging Them to Continue the Struggle, and Reporting their situation to the Outside World.

Bayonne, Passaic, West Virginia, The Anthracite --- *are examples*
IN ADDITION: We are Discussing Those Problems which American Labor Must Face, for its own Future Welfare.

Some of the subjects of debate and discussion in the coming six months:

WHAT'S TO BE DONE IN THE METAL TRADES?

FURTHER ADVANCES IN TEXTILES—HOW CAN THEY BE WON?

WHAT ARE THE METHODS TO WIN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE UNORGANIZED? (Based on practical experiences.)

HOW CAN WE FIGHT INJUNCTIONS SUCCESSFULLY?

IS INDUSTRIAL UNIONISM THE ANSWER TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF MERGERS AMONG INDUSTRIAL CONCERNs?

IS COOPERATION WITH MANAGEMENT DESIRABLE?

These are a few samples of the things that will be thoroughly and frankly discussed by labor leaders and students of labor problems in our near future issues.

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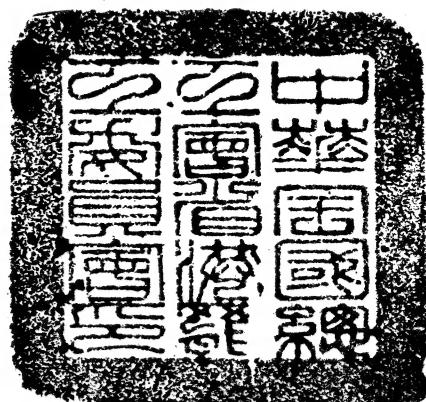
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of

THE NATION

Mr. Gannett has just
spent six months in the
Far East. The first three
articles in the series are:

1. Seeing China.
2. China—A Nation of Anarchists
3. China: The World's Proletariat.



Seal of the Canton-Honkong Strike Committee of the All-China Labor Federation.